descendants of inter-gens marriages which had been matrilocal (see The Family), descendants of slave men and free women, etc. Such persons were attached to their mother's lineage. In the case of matrilocal marriages they would keep their father's taboos in the first generation, but if they married into their mother's gens, as was usually the case, their descendants would be considered full gens members. Individuals connected with the gens through female descent were entitled to use of its land and suffered from no disabilities except that they were debarred from a few offices which were strictly hereditary in the male line. The Ikongo paid more attention to male descent than the Menabe and in historic times their gens membership is said to have been strictly based upon it. 618

I believe that residence was originally almost as important as descent in establishing gens membership. Certain gentes mentioned in traditions have completely disappeared and it was explained that, having lost their lands through conquest, they had broken up. Their lineages had settled in the villages of other gentes, by permission, and had finally been absorbed.

Each gens was composed of from one to fifty villages all of which recognized the domination of a single chief. Among the Menabe there was rarely more than one gens represented in a village. Among the Ikongo, lineages belonging to the royal gens often lived in the villages of the other gentes, but this was probably a late development, linked with the rise of royal power in that group. 618 631

SOCIAL CLASSES

Until about one hundred and twenty-five years ago the Menabe recognized only two classes in society: the *hova*, who were free persons belonging to a gens, and the *mdevo*, who were prisoners of war or their descendants. There were no hereditary distinctions among the *hova* although differences in wealth and ability were, of course, recognized. Most of the *mdevo* were slaves. Some distinction was made between slaves who were Tanala by birth and those captured from other tribes. The former would often be ransomed by their relatives and their bondage was, in general, lighter. Marriages between such slaves and free people were quite common, especially if the slave was a member of a good family in his own gens. At death, the body of a Tanala slave would be returned to his own gens for burial in his village tomb, unless his village lay at too great a distance. Slaves, both Tanala and foreign, were further divided into chattel slaves and family slaves. The former were usually prisoners of war, the latter 567 [554]

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567 persons born into servitude, but there was no strict rule. A docile prisoner who served his master well would come to be considered a family slave, while a born slave who was lazy or troublesome would be degraded to chattel slavery. Chattel slaves simply represented so much wealth and labor power and could be sold at will. Family slaves, on the other hand, were united to their owners by ties of affection and were very rarely sold. The master could sell them, but such an act would be reprehended by the entire village. Families which had been slaves for three or four generations acquired a certain status in the village. They were permitted to own property, had their own tombs, and would only be sold if guilty of some crime. A slave family of this sort would be attached to some lineage and its economic status would differ little from that of a free family. After the Menabe came [546] under the domination of the Imerina empire, free persons were occasionally enslaved for debt, but this was always rare and the slavery was light. The individual was considered as a pledge rather than a true slave, for his lineage would make every possible effort to ransom him. A slave who had been ransomed by his relatives at once regained his social position.

565 Good slaves were often freed by their master and would then attach themselves to his family as clients. These, their descendants, 555 and the offspring of certain marriages between slave and free formed a class of free *ndevo* who were socially intermediate between the slaves and the *hova*. Individuals of this class might rise to wealth and importance in the community, but they were debarred from holding office and from burial in the village tomb.

546 During the reign of Andrianampoimerina, founder of the Imerina empire, a third class came into existence among the Menabe. The Zafiakotry gens, which had been defeated by its neighbors, tendered voluntary submission to him. He helped it to conquer several of the other gentes and recognized it as the ruling gens for this division of the Tanala. All the Zafiakotry then assumed the rank of [547] *andriana*, i.e. nobles, while their chief became a king. Although the assumption of *andriana* rank brought with it social prestige, most of the Zafiakotry continued to live in their own gens territory and to cultivate their own land, etc. The conquered gentes recognized the authority of the Zafiakotry chief, but they paid no tribute to the Zafiakotry gens, nor were they displaced from their land.

The Tanala Ikongo were also divided into three classes, called *hova*, *mahoaka* and *ndevo*. These corresponded to the *andriana*, *hova*, and *ndevo* classes of the Menabe. All that has been said of

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woman with an illegitimate child is expected to give the regular bride price and to pay a small sum for the child as well, if he wants it. If he does not, it belongs to the mother's family and is reared by them. 583

The most extreme example of this idea of the purchase of potential children is found among the Vezo Sakalava, a tribe on the southwest coast. Here there is no refund of the bride price in case of divorce, but the consent of the first husband is necessary for a remarriage. He will bargain with the new husband as to how many children born of the new union will be given to him and is entitled to demand from one to three. Such children are considered the first husband's legal heirs, without formality of adoption. Informants said specifically that such children were to reimburse him for the loss of the bride price. [587]

INTER-CLASS MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE OF RANK

Slavery has been abolished among the Tanala and class distinctions are rapidly breaking down, so that the statements made here refer to past conditions. The native attitude toward inter-class marriages was much like the European one, the higher classes disapproving and the lower approving. Marriages between noble and common and between common and *ndevo* were fairly common, but marriages between noble and *ndevo* were almost unknown. Noble men frequently had *ndevo* concubines. If the mother was a slave, the father would free both her and their child, but would not make her a legal wife. The child's status was doubtful. He would not be considered *ndevo*, but the nobles would rarely acknowledge him as a full member of their class and gens. Affairs between noble women and *ndevo* men were vigorously opposed by the nobles and the *ndevo* lover would be sold out of the village or even killed. Informants knew of no offspring from such unions. 582 567 [684]

Marriages between nobles and commoners were not uncommon. The ceremonies were the same as for marriages within either class. Among the Ikongo, children of such unions took the father's rank and gens. Among the Menabe they took those of the lower parent

Marriages between commoners and free *ndevo* seem to have been rather frequent. If the *ndevo* had been born free and had a family in the village, the ordinary marriage ceremony was performed. The children took the rank and gens of the father. Such unions were rather looked down upon and were rarely contracted by any but the poorer commoners.

Matings between commoners and slaves seem to have been regarded more favorably. It must be remembered that many of these

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582 were Tanala prisoners of war whose antecedents were well known. If the slave came of a good family, the fact that he or she was a slave 567 carried little social stigma and the children would be accepted as equals by their relatives.

In unions of commoners and slaves there was no marriage cere- [585] mony. If a common man took a slave woman as a concubine, her status was not changed unless a child was born to them. After this, the father was in honor bound to buy her and their child from her owner. He would usually free both of them by calling together his family and pronouncing a curse on anyone who thenceforth considered them as slaves. If he did this, the child inherited his gens and rank. If he failed to do it the child and mother remained slaves and might be sold by his heirs after his death.

If a woman who had been captured and enslaved bore a child to her master, her relatives might remove her slave status by paying a partial ransom. This was called *lanjalanganana* ("to replace carrying the bamboo") in reference to the long bamboo bottles used by slave women for carrying water. It was usually about half the [435] woman's market value as a slave, perhaps four to six head of cattle. The payment of this ransom not only freed the woman and her offspring, but gave her an honorable position in the household equal to that of any of the regularly married wives.

Marriages between common women and slave men were less [587] frequent, but by no means unknown. Middle-aged widows who wished to be only wives frequently took slave husbands. The first step was to buy the man, if he belonged to someone else. The woman then made a feast, killed an ox and distributed the meat to her relatives, and announced that this man was henceforth free and her husband. The wife had a whip hand in such unions. The husband, even though officially free, could not return to his own people. More- [586] over, if he behaved badly or paid attention to other women, his wife could reduce him to slavery again and even sell him.

567 Children of common women and slave men took the gens and rank of the mother. However, if the father was a Tanala and had been a man of good family, or a noble, before his enslavement, the children might go back to his people when they were grown and could legitimately claim his gens and rank.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 The Tanala system of relationship terms is comparatively simple. It was impossible to get an authoritative list of the terms used by

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721 was a fruitful cause of wars. If the captive's village was too weak to fight, it sent some neutral to treat for ransom. Prisoners might [561] be exchanged against each other, or a family would give a slave of the same value for one of its members. The regular ransom was a silver chain reaching to the waist, or a number of cattle, ten being the maximum. Women were always valued above men.

712 Villages were fortified with stockades and at least some clans also employed deep ditches outside the stockade, but this does not seem to have been universal. At the gate a narrow bridge of earth was left. This was broken down on news of the approach of an enemy.

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888 middle-aged man of wealth and ability will receive more consideration than an old man who is not important.

Old men with numerous descendants occupy an enviable position. They exercise parental authority over both their children and grandchildren and are respected by non-relatives because of the power they wield. Their own children treat them with great consideration, for if they fail in their duties the father will revenge himself by giving away his property to other children or even outsiders. Old men fully realize the strength of their position and are often overbearing. [578] I saw several instances of tension between fathers and grown sons and heard of a few cases in which sons had actually left home to escape their fathers' domination. This was said to be a recent development, due to the peace imposed by the French. It would have been impossible under primitive conditions and was still frowned on by the community. There is a distinct feeling that the care and expense involved in rearing a child are an investment which should be repaid by care of the parent in his old age.

882 Old women have less authority over their children than old men, 889 but, if widowed, they will live with one of their married sons and take an active part in the direction of his household. The relation between mothers and grown sons seems much more friendly than that between fathers and sons, but there is sometimes friction between mothers and daughters-in-law. The authority of the mother over the daughter-in-law is not clearly defined, so the possibilities of conflict are increased. In a few cases mothers lived alone in small houses built near those of their married sons. I was told that they did this of their own free will.

885 Childless old people of both sexes have a lower status than those with children. They will be looked after by their closest kin, but if these are poor, or stingy, they may be neglected. However, they are never allowed to suffer real hardship. This is due less to affection than to the fear that their ghosts may revenge themselves on those who have neglected them.

567 In former times, old slaves were assured of support by their masters. Informants had never heard of selling a slave because he had become old or useless. They said that, in the first place, no one would buy him and, in the second, such a sale would be a disgrace to his master. The fear of vengeance from his ghost also helped to secure good treatment for him. As most slaves had families, the problem rarely arose.